

# Party Organizer



"Everything that organizes and  
activizes the working class and its  
allies is progress toward socialism;  
likewise, everything that weakens  
and discourages the forces of re-  
action goes in the same direction.  
This is the fundamental concep-  
tion that underlies the revolution-  
ists' understanding of the fight for  
the People's Front."

(Earl Browder, THE RESULTS  
OF THE ELECTIONS AND THE  
PEOPLE'S FRONT.)

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

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No. 1

## What's to Be Done to Build the Party?

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, at its December 4-6 meeting, decided that the materials and decisions of its plenum should be widely popularized so as to educate the Party members in the tasks confronting the Party today and to mobilize the entire membership for the program of Party building outlined below.

In the first place, the present recruiting drive must be intensified in preparation for the Lenin Memorial meetings. There is still the possibility of recruiting from 4,000 to 5,000 members into the Party by that date. This can be accomplished if the districts pay the closest attention to the activities of the lower organizations, and if they mobilize all Party forces in the trade unions (especially in the concentration districts) for the task of building the Party.

Recruiting must be stressed as a daily task of the entire membership with the Lenin Memorial meetings as a day of mobilization for daily recruiting in the future. From now until the Lenin Memorial meetings, and at the meetings themselves, we must instill into the consciousness of every Party member that recruiting is a central task which is interconnected with all the activities, campaigns and struggles of the Party.

To get the best results and to mobilize the Party to carry out the main tasks outlined by Comrade Browder in his report to the Central Committee plenum, the state committees must take serious steps to carry out the organizational decisions of the Ninth Party Convention.

1. Before June 1, 1937, a full meeting of the state committees should be called which will conduct a thorough examination of the organizational status of the Party. In the light of this, they will work out their next tasks in order to fulfill the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum. These meetings should examine the functioning of the lower organizations in the shops and factories (shop unit activity), especially in heavy industry, of the industrial units and branches, of the Party members in



the trade unions and other mass organizations (fractions). These should be studied, not only with respect to their inner activity, but in relation to the mass activities of the Party—the Farmer-Labor Party movement, the organizing drives, the struggle for peace, Spain, unemployed struggles, farmers' movements, youth movements, the liberation movement of the Negro people, local economic and political issues and the *Daily Worker*, etc.

2. At these meetings the state committees must take specific steps to link up the work of the various lower organizations with the mass activities of the Party, encouraging to the highest degree the initiative of sections, units and fractions.

3. These meetings of the state committees should be immediately followed by meetings of functionaries at which the decisions of the state committee should be explained and discussed. They should be used to mobilize the forces of the Party below, to help the units and fractions develop mass work in their sphere of activity, so that the attainment of general objectives of the Party will be guaranteed.

While preparing for these steps and during the actual process of mobilizing the Party for mass work, the state committees should do the following to strengthen their organizations:

1. Strengthen the leadership in the units, not only through better selection of unit bureau personnel, but through continuous and better education of unit membership (make use of educational meetings for actives, etc.).

2. Encourage the units to develop their initiative in line with the main decisions of the Party. This calls for better and more political education of the membership, so as to train each one to be a leader among his contacts and in his work.

3. Establish a functioning system of classes for new members, with steps taken for the encouragement of study by the new members and assignments which will lead to their political development.

4. Build the circulation of the *Daily Worker* as a means of building the Party and increasing its mass influence.

5. Establish well-functioning membership committees in all Party organizations (state or district, section and unit).

By improving the Party organization along these lines, the state committees will make the Party the driving force in the struggle of the masses. The districts and sections should *immediately assign every available leading comrade to the lower organizations*. These comrades should be made to understand that they are fully responsible for the improvement of the work

of a particular unit or fraction. In this way, personal responsibility can be fixed and improvement guaranteed.

The state committees should also examine how the various departments in their apparatus function. They should take steps to simplify all over-complicated structure, and assign work on the principle of individual responsibility for various phases of work.

These are decisive steps which will put the whole Party membership into action, will tighten the whole Party organization, will improve the mass activities of the Party and increase the tempo of Party growth.

## When to Recruit and How

PAT TOOHEY

AN ACCEPTED WEAKNESS in the national election campaign which stands out is the general failure to utilize the great possibilities present in the campaign to recruit new members to the Party. And yet there is no good reason or alibi which can be offered to account for this, nothing but downright negligence and a hangover from the past, continuing to dog our work. Certainly, we reached countless more thousands of people than at any other time, our meetings were larger, the response of the workers to our slogans sympathetic. The amount of our agitation increased and we can record the beginning of many new forms and methods of agitation and propaganda.

Consequently, any failure to accomplish quota figures by units, sections and districts, and also by individual comrades cannot be ascribed to "objective" difficulties and to "peculiar types" of workers in various communities, but is primarily due to a timid understanding of and sectarian approach to the question by our whole corps of activists and functionaries. In our district, we have certain examples to give proof to this statement, examples good and also bad.

1. At the beginning of our election campaign drive in early August, the district committee established a quota of 1,000 new members to be obtained up to Nov. 15. We decided to get

1,000 new subscribers to the *Sunday Worker* and also to fulfill our financial quota. The district committee established a definite quota for every section in the district, and, in addition, gave a quota of five new recruits to every member of the district committee, section organizer, section and district functionary, trade union leader and officer and head of mass organizations, of whom nearly 100 are employed full time. In the past, they considered their duty simply to occupy their time *advising* the rank and file how to recruit, but a turn was made so that this body should be in the forefront, *showing* the membership how to recruit.

And why shouldn't such comrades show the way? Aren't they the best speakers? Do they not have the closest connection with large groups of people? Aren't they leaders of unions and organizations and do they not enjoy wide connections? Isn't it true that if the whole membership saw this leading body of the Party seriously occupied with recruiting they, too, would develop some of the enthusiasm and seriousness toward recruiting?

But the fact is that many members of this leading body actually consider recruiting a little beneath their dignity. Either that, or their connection with the masses is much exaggerated and that also raises a serious problem for us.

With this in mind the district committee established a quota of *five* new members for every member of the district committee. What results can we establish? Not good results. The *majority* of such leading comrades did not accomplish their assignment. Many did, but the great majority of section organizers and district committee members did not even recruit one member. As for trade union functionaries, well, I would faint from amazement if an application card came in signed by one of these comrades.

Is it any wonder, then, that our quota of 1,000 new members wound up with 600 recruited? Why is it that a new comrade like Fleming can recruit 35 members alone and Comrade Street 20, and the leading comrades have only zeros to their account?

The conclusion we make is that we shall seriously examine into the right of a number of comrades to be henceforth designated as "leading comrades", seriously examine the method and nature of their work, their connections with workers and their whole understanding and approach to Party work.

2. Our campaign gave a number of positive experiences



which should be shown throughout the country, but unfortunately are not.

Why should Baltimore section be able to more than double its membership during the drive? How was it possible for the relatively weak Reading section to fulfill its recruiting quota 250 per cent? What explains the failure of large, well-organized sections, which have a large body of able and developed leading comrades, in their recruiting, while other sections not enjoying such able forces are able to go way over their quota?

The article of Comrade Dixon (Baltimore) in the December *Party Organizer* explains it for Baltimore, and the same reasons account for the other sections.

First, was recruiting taken up in the leading committees, were control tasks assigned and seriously checked upon, were special committees established, was the question raised politically before the membership as a whole, was recruiting made an inseparable part of every activity such as mass meetings, street meetings, movies, and did we see following up of connections which existed in abundance?

Thousands of people wrote in to the C. C. after hearing Comrades Browder, Ford and Bloor. The center sent these connections to every district. What happened to them? Were they followed up? Baltimore did follow them up. That was one reason for the big increase.

In fact, a new Party section with a number of units and about 50 new members was established in Western Maryland by following up these connections. We had no Party nor a single member in this region. Upon receipt of a number of names of people who had responded to the Browder broadcast, the section sent a comrade 200 miles away and he returned with the above results. These new members are coal miners, textile workers, laborers and others. The section organizer was invited to speak before the U.M.W.A. local and afterward our new Party played an important role in the big strike of 9,000 celanese strikers in Cumberland.

Other sections also received scores of such connections, but were they canvassed? Did we connect with them? Of course, many of these connections will prove valueless, but is it correct to say immediately "no use visiting these people, many are nuts, cranks, dicks"?

How many hundreds of people asked for more information during the campaign? How many sent in a coupon attached to many of our leaflets? What has happened to them?

Our general experience shows the need of a well-functioning district membership committee and corresponding machinery in the sections and units to handle this work systematically. Such a machinery will impel comrades to draw together their connections and talk to them. It will mobilize the fractions and units and membership as a whole for daily systematic recruiting.

3. And now, the negative approach, even when possibilities exist to recruit. During the summer three gigantic hunger marches were organized on the State Legislature and appropriations were forced each time. From five to seven thousand workers marched in caravans from all over the state, inspired by our Party and generally following the Party's steadfast leadership.

But the first two marches resulted in absolutely no organizational gains. While at least ten district committee members and eight section organizers were in active leadership of the march, their activities were of a kind which did not include in any way a thought about recruiting. If such comrades simply forgot all about recruiting, then who should remember it?

The third march was a week old when the district bureau sharply took the matter in hand, sent a representative to meet with the leading fraction and "laid down the law". The representative found that there was not a single application blank in Harrisburg, nor a copy of the *Daily Worker* being received. A mimeographed, temporary application was made and squads were set up to recruit systematically.

Between that Sunday evening and the following Thursday afternoon, a total of 135 workers joined the Party, and scores of others would have joined had they been asked.

But here is the tragedy. The district office thereupon forwarded to the respective sections the temporary applications to have the new members looked up and regularly signed up and assigned to the Party. Up until today, four months later, the district commission has a report on no more than twenty-five of these new applicants as having been contacted, signed up, assigned to units and otherwise involved in Party work.

Again, therefore, the whole thing comes back to the leading cadre and to the degree which this cadre considers, approaches and deals with recruiting. As for our district, conscious of our weaknesses, serious and drastic measures are under way to change the entire approach to recruiting, and we face the future confident that our Party in our district will forge ahead greatly as a result of these experiences and the lessons gained from them.



## A Steel Unit Becomes Tempered

WHEN THE SECTION ORGANIZER came into this section about four months ago, he began to concentrate on a steel mill unit which was typical, that is, it was functioning poorly. It had 22 members but they could not meet due to the split shifts in the mill.

The first task was to find ways and means of having a real unit meeting. We finally managed to get a fairly good unit meeting of seven, changed the unit bureau and listed the name of every Party comrade who had belonged to the unit for the past year. We visited them, found that the split shifts did not offer insuperable difficulties, since the comrades generally knew in advance the changes of their shifts. We therefore decided to organize a morning and night meeting of the unit.

We set up a bureau of five leading comrades who could attend either the morning or night meetings of the units. This bureau met and discussed the problems of the unit; listed all the members by nationality and department, planned the work in accordance with the abilities of each member.

While this plan was worked out less than a month ago, there are already some results to show for it. The morning and night meetings combined generally have an attendance of 18 to 20, with at least 12 or 13 who attend regularly. This has been accomplished because the members of the unit bureau, together with the section organizer, take the names of three or four comrades every week, visit them at their homes, and bring them to the unit meeting. This will have to be continued for some time, until the life of the unit guarantees their coming to the meetings by themselves.

While a number of meetings were taken up with this organizational work (with little done besides except to get out the shop paper), we discussed in the unit bureau the question of a provisional plan of work for the unit, and the assignment of tasks for every member of the unit and the bureau. The practice of carrying into life this plan was to be the basis for discussion. The result of our experiences and discussion would, we felt, enable us to get closer to a very concrete and realizable plan of work. This has brought about a healthy life in the unit.

For the last three weeks there have been only three points

on the agenda of the unit worked out by the unit bureau: (1) political discussion (connecting it with the actual tasks in the mill), (2) assignment of tasks to the members of the unit in the light of the first point, namely, the political discussion, and (3) checking up on tasks.

Here are some of the tasks that were assigned: (1) To gather material and finances for the shop bulletin. (This was oversubscribed.) (2) The distribution of 200 copies of the Party platform in the mill. The distribution of 200 penny pamphlets in the mill, (3) A day's wage for the election campaign. (Some ten comrades have either paid their day's wages already, or are paying it.)

In assigning tasks to the comrades we found the following situation: In this unit there were seven Croatians, four Mexicans, and seven Americans, one of whom is a Negro. (The others have not as yet registered.) We took up the question of tasks for the Croatian comrades as a group. We assigned them to work with the Croatian organizer in penetrating the Croatian fraternal organizations and to recruit Croatians into the union, to organize a group of them in the various departments, (for union organization in those departments irrespective of nationality), and to draw workers of different nationalities into this group, even through the main task of the Croatian comrades was work among the Croatians.

In one department our Croatian comrades organized a group of 20 (only a few of them Croatians), in the struggle around the bonus. They won two increases, but they are demanding a full bonus. Their task now is to recruit these workers into the union, which they are doing, and to concentrate on some of them for membership in the Party.

We are working out similar plans for the Mexicans. One of the American comrades who works in the relining department found out that the company had ordered a wage cut to go into effect on October 1. The unit worked out a plan for calling a meeting of this department where there were some 300 workers who were affected by the wage cut. That meeting was held about two weeks ago. Fifty workers were present, plus a member of the Employee Representatives, a progressive and a member of the union. The company heard of this meeting, and immediately postponed the cut for a month.

As a result of this meeting, fifteen were recruited into the union, while seven young fellows are being groomed to be brought into the Y.C.L. We arranged for these fifteen who

joined the union to meet every Friday night in different homes for supper and discussion of union as well as political questions.

In order to demoralize this movement the company transferred some of the most active workers to another department, but these young fellows got busy and organized a meeting of the department to which they were transferred, with about 40 workers present; they are now setting up a committee in that department.

For the Foster meeting on November 2 the unit prepared a shop bulletin. The unit also proposed to the district to get out stickers for the mill, which were pasted in quite a number of departments. We have also taken up with individual comrades in other departments the question of calling a meeting of 10 or 20 workers in their homes, with a union organizer present to form them into a recruiting committee for the union, while the comrades are to pay special attention to a few of them as prospective Party members.

As a temporary measure, the unit proposed that the seven comrades who are members of the Executive Board of the union, including the three Party members who are Employee Representatives, be organized as a fraction, and that their main task be the guiding of the work of the local lodge, and in the Employee Representatives. One of them is to be attached to the unit bureau. This means that a functioning fraction has come into existence.

The women in the auxiliaries of the lodge have organized a Party unit of eight. Up to the present, the mill unit functioned in a loose manner, separated from and quite ignorant of what the Party members who are full time organizers were doing, or what the Party members who are Employee Representatives were doing, and quite vague about the work of the women's unit. The unit bureau has drawn up a plan to coordinate this work and organize it more effectively.

This will result in some very important changes in our Party work in the mills. More than anything else will it increase the tempo of the drive in steel, and really make it a mass drive.

The experiences of our unit show that while workers are ready for organization, they will not organize spontaneously. What is needed is a guiding force. And this is what our steel unit is becoming. Planning of work, responsibility for carrying out tasks, keeping the ear to the ground—these things are essential for union work in steel and for building our Party in steel.



## Building Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries

A. PERRY

IN BUILDING AUXILIARIES in the . . . section there must be linked up very closely with our work the building of the Party. It was only as a result of building the Party among the women that we were able to give adequate leadership to the women who were organized into auxiliaries. We saw that if we were going to be able to give guidance to hundreds of workers' wives, it would be necessary for us to recruit women to the Party and develop their leadership. Starting with two Party women, today we have a unit of thirteen members, five of whom are Negro women. This group functions as a distinct women's unit, though we have close connections with the shop unit, by having a representative from the women's unit meet with the shop unit bureau. This serves as a means of keeping the women's unit informed of the work of the shop unit in building the union. But we had the job of organizing hundreds of women, most of whom had no previous trade union experience. We have auxiliaries today in a number of the main communities. This was achieved in the face of many difficulties. But without this nucleus of Party women who are able to give the needed leadership, we would have had today only loose inactive groups. For instance, there was the problem of organizing Negro women together with white women. In one of the places when we called a meeting and had Negro women present, some of the white women walked out and walked into a police station to report it. We immediately visited these white women and explained to them the necessity of one organization for all. We failed to convince them but we did convince the other white women. A week ago the Negro women organized a Silver Tea, or community social affair in this very same auxiliary. They decided to invite the white leaders of the auxiliary to attend. This was a victory.

The problem of educating the women whom we have recruited to the Party is a particularly important one in as much as we are dealing with people who have not been acquainted with our Party before. We are tackling the problem very systematically. How? By concentration and personal contact work (sometimes it is necessary to spend hours with these women,

washing dishes and helping them to cook while clearing up confusing things in their minds). We are developing a series of educational meetings together with the shop unit, and are emphasizing the Negro question because it is very pressing at this time. One of our leading Negro comrades was invited to lead a discussion on this subject.

In preparing for a conference, we made quite a few discoveries. One was that when we canvassed the city trade union auxiliaries, we found a number of them, but unfortunately none were functioning.

In most cases, they are only tea parties. This is true among the railroad, machinists and other auxiliaries.

However, we shouldn't scoff at the idea of social functions, because we found that we can make our best approach to women by these methods.

The women's auxiliaries in steel called a successful conference in the Calumet district with 42 women's organizations including 15 trade unions represented.

The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago sent delegates. It promised to help in the steel drive. It requested members of the steel auxiliaries to assist it in organizing women into the trade unions. The Industrial League of the Y.W.C.A. had delegates at this conference who promised to render support in the steel drive and help organize women's auxiliaries in steel on the South Side of Chicago where some 8,000 steel workers live.

Some of the most important streets and neighborhoods, including those with a large population of Polish, Croatian, Mexican and Negro workers, were selected for canvassing by members of the steel auxiliaries and members of organizations represented at the conference to recruit steel workers into the union.

A splendid resolution pledging support to the steel drive was adopted by this conference. The most encouraging thing is that the women themselves wrote the resolution after many discussions of its first drafts in their auxiliary meetings.

The women have established a regular monthly bulletin, *Women in Steel*, for circulation in the Calumet region, with a monthly circulation of some 2,000. There have been three issues thus far. This bulletin is written by the women themselves and includes attractive features besides news articles—recipes, beauty hints and other items that many women like. Today there is a demand for a printed bulletin. This will appear soon to take the place of the present mimeographed one.

It should be pointed out that the magazine *The Woman*

*today has been very helpful. Inspiring + helpful  
movement against high cost of life.*

*Today* has been very helpful. It has been a real organizer for them. Some of the auxiliaries order regular bundles and use it for distribution among the members and for contacting other women.

Much more attention should be given to this particular work among women. Experience has shown that the women can play a very important part in the organization of workers into the trade unions, and in the movement that is developing against the high cost of living.

## Rooting a Branch in the Neighborhood

BEN CARREATHERS

IN THE HILL SECTION OF PITTSBURGH, populated by Negroes and Jewish people, a unit of five drifted along without the slightest signs of progress. The section committee, which was trying to solve the problem of the functioning of our units, decided that this was the unit to concentrate upon, not only in order to build the Party in the neighborhood, but also to convert the unit into a branch which would be a model for all the branches and units in Pittsburgh.

The section committee transferred some of its best forces to the Hill Section and assigned a member of the committee to work with what was now a branch. As a result of this work the branch now has a membership of 65; its prestige is high in the neighborhood, and the original five members have become active Party comrades.

What are the tangible results of this concentration? These were revealed especially in the election campaign. In the city of Pittsburgh, as a whole, the figures showed that the vote for the Communist Party was less than in 1932, but in the locality where this branch exists, we received the same number of votes for the Communist Party as in 1932. Immediately after election we discussed the results of the election campaign through the district and city compared with that in the branch locality and found that it was not an accident that we had similar results as in 1932. It was because this Party unit



was able more than any other unit to carry to the people of the locality the campaign of the Communist Party in the election campaign.

At the beginning of the election campaign we had to collect signatures, in order to put our candidates on the ballot. This unit took up the question very seriously. Within two weeks the unit had secured four times as many signatures as were necessary to put the Party on the ballot. The time saved gave the unit the opportunity to deal with other important questions.

In the campaign for raising the finances of the election campaign, the unit within a couple of weeks raised one-fourth of the entire amount raised in the city of Pittsburgh.

In addition to that it had contact with all the organizations in the localities and through these organizations it raised additional funds to carry through the election campaign.

As to the *Daily Worker*, this unit has a circulation greater than that of any other in the city of Pittsburgh. The unit was especially active in the distribution of literature. There were distributed 2,500 copies of the election campaign platform in addition to thousands of copies of pamphlets to almost everybody in the neighborhood.

The leadership of the unit has become known to the workers of the neighborhood. Their contact with these workers is such that they can predict with accuracy the number of people from the Third Ward who will be present at a meeting or demonstration.

The unit has taken up the problem of the development of cadres. Responsibility for carrying through tasks is insisted upon. One of the most important tasks of the unit is to develop comrades in other units and especially in the steel mills. A few days ago I was assigned to a steel mill unit for this purpose.

During the last two months this unit recruited twelve members into the Party. They did this in a systematic way. They discussed this in the executive of the unit. Each member submitted a list of one or two workers that might be interested and might be recruited into the Party. They concentrated on these workers, discussed with them the organization of the Party, distributed the letter of the C. C. which contained six reasons why a worker should join the Party. And when some of the members could not recruit their contacts they brought the question to the unit executive and asked it for aid. Thus a good beginning has been made with recruiting.

In discussing recruitment they also discussed something else:

that it is not sufficient to recruit into the Party. We have the task of keeping those we recruit in the Party and to do away with the high fluctuation.

We have an initiation ceremony in this branch. We discuss with the new member everything about himself, find out what organization he belongs to, where he works, who he knows, etc. The branch has found that this kind of discussion tends to strengthen the allegiance of the new member to the Party.

The results of the work of this branch show that the work of the entire Party will be vastly improved when leading members of the sections everywhere are firmly rooted in the branches and units, sharing the life and work.

## A Mass Following for the Daily Worker

SAM DON

THE TEST OF THE STRENGTH of the *Daily Worker* lies in its circulation. What are the facts? In a period of growth of the influence of our Party, the circulation of the *Daily Worker* has shown a most serious decline. Just one fact to drive this point home.

The income from the *Daily Worker* circulation for the month of September showed a loss of \$2,525.11 over the previous year. This means a loss of circulation in a period when the Party has begun to establish itself as a most serious factor in the life of the country.

Among the main reasons for the depression of the *Daily Worker* amidst the beginning of a boom of Party influence we find: no active promotion of the circulation of the paper (the best paper in the world could not increase its circulation without promotion) and the practical abandonment of the paper in some sections and circles of the Party.

The nature of the paper will determine the growth of its circulation and influence. Allow me to call your attention to the new masthead of the *Daily Worker*, "The People's Champion of Liberty, Progress, Peace and Prosperity". This masthead was given us by the decision of the Polburo. The slogans on the

masthead are the guiding principles for the Editorial Board. It is the wish of the Polburo that the *Daily Worker* be a cross between a Party central organ and one carrying out the principles enunciated in the above-mentioned slogan. The emphasis, of course, is on making the *Daily Worker* a popular mass paper. It is along these lines that the Editorial Board, directly supervised by the Polburo, has been working. As a result, in the last few months, the *Daily Worker* has shown tendencies toward improvement; we have checked the decline in circulation and even increased it slightly.

Comrade Browder emphasized the need of developing higher quality in our work, training new forces. But this cannot be accomplished unless the district and section leadership and the Party from top to bottom consider the *Daily Worker* their own child, showing it the greatest concern, affection and consideration.

No mass campaign of the Party can be undertaken without the *Daily Worker*. When the Party wishes to make of an issue a mass issue, the beginning must be made by the *Daily Worker*. How then can we remain indifferent to the decline of circulation and to the need of promotion of circulation? District organizers and section organizers should study their particular circulation figures. They will find in those figures some clues to the many difficulties in mobilizing the masses and the membership for the realization of the Party slogans and campaigns. Just as the Polburo calls to account the districts and sections for any decline in recruiting figures, so should the districts and sections be called to account for the decline in *Daily Worker* circulation.

Quite often we hear that there is lack of clarity on certain phases of Party work and policy. But why should this be the case? The Central Committee speaks through the *Daily* every day. The editorials are written under the direct supervision of the Political Bureau. The policies of the Party take shape in the editorial columns of the *Daily*. But are the Party members encouraged to read the editorials? Are constant references made to them? Some people read more regularly the editorials in the capitalist press than those in the *Daily Worker*. Is it any wonder then that at times they are confused? How can we expect to train our new members and develop personnel if we do not help to cultivate the habit of reading the *Daily Worker*? Did not the education of many of us begin with the reading of the *Daily Worker*?

Permit me to give an example. At a functionaries' meeting



of one of the leading New York sections the question was put to the thirty comrades present—How many do not read the *Daily Worker* regularly? Five raised their hands. One of these is a full-time functionary. How can the section carry on its mass work properly, train its forces, in the face of such an attitude?

The main problem, of course, is the mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* in connection with mass issues and mass campaigns. Take the campaign against the slashing of the W.P.A. The *Daily* started this campaign the second week after the elections. How far more effective would the campaign be if the district and section leadership would take up in earnest the promotion of circulation!

The trade unions should be a base for increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker*. The Party certainly can and will influence the course of trade union unity. But some of the comrades active in trade unions do not yet feel the absolute necessity of bringing the *Daily Worker* to the trade union members. Indeed, some of the leading non-Party progressive trade unionists reverse the habit of some Party members. They buy first the *Daily Worker* and then the *New York Times*. This is how anxious they are to know the Party opinion.

If this is true of some of the trade union progressive leaders, why can't we develop the same habit among the rank and file members of the unions, Fortunately this sad situation does not prevail everywhere. There are many unions in which Party members are the leaders. Yet circulation in these districts has for the most part declined despite the fact that the *Daily Worker* carries stories practically every day on steel, auto and other basic industries. The Detroit district has given us a splendid example of how to bring the *Daily Worker* into a strike situation and to increase its circulation. I refer to the Midland Steel strike.

In the past the sale of the *Daily Worker* at the trade union halls, in the markets, was difficult, involving sometimes physical violence against our members, but this is not the case today. In the past, the point was made that because of the Red scare the workers would not buy the paper; but can anyone advance this argument today with the same force as in the past? To be sure, there are difficulties. But where there is a political will, there is a technical way out.

The key to the strengthening of the influence of the *Daily Worker* lies in its improvement and in making of it a real mass paper. But this means greater stress on promotion of circulation.

We must by all means move forward not backwards as we are today. The fault does not lie entirely with the Party organizations. The business office must take serious measures to develop an independent apparatus for the promotion of circulation. But we should not forget that the Party is the main promoter of circulation for a Communist paper.

Comrades, the work in the *Daily* is the most responsible work. If the entire Party does not watch it we may commit serious blunders. We pledge ourselves to heed most attentively the criticisms and requests of all readers of the *Daily*. But it is up to you comrades who are the real stockholders of the paper to move heaven and earth to increase the circulation of the paper and to assure a successful financial drive.

The country now listens to the voice of the Party and its leader, Comrade Browder. The Party is beginning to shape public opinion. We must improve the quality and increase the size of the voice of the Party. Make the *Daily Worker* count. Promote and increase its circulation. Help build it into a mass popular paper. Make it the People's Champion of Liberty, Progress, Peace and Prosperity.

## The Fight for Peace— Save Spanish Democracy!

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE the Party must concentrate on the following two phases: First, to rally the masses of the people around a program for peace which, basing itself on the principle of keeping America out of war by keeping war out of the world, will crystallize the anti-war and anti-fascist sentiments of the country into an effective weapon for peace. We must weld this sentiment into a form familiar to the people and based on a program acceptable to them. This means making use of every genuine movement for peace, and every step taken by the Roosevelt administration which sets up barriers against war-makers, such as the actions taken in part at the Inter-American Peace Conference.

Secondly, the fight for peace must center around the struggle to defend Spanish democracy under the slogan: Everything to the support of Spain! Besides the broadest and most intense

political campaign to organize the American people behind the heroic defenders of democracy in Spain, concrete organizational steps must be taken to insure a maximum of material help.

For the first task the Party must immediately do the following:

1. We must give far greater assistance to the American League Against War and Fascism by assigning some of our best forces for this work. We must see to it that the mass organizations influenced by us are drawn into the work of the American League and become the most active participants there. We must endeavor to broaden the base of the League by drawing in more trade unions, farm organizations, professional groups, etc.

There is a tendency in certain sections of the country to forget that the American League is and must be a broad united front organization in which the Communist Party is but one of many component groups.

2. There must not be a city or territory where there is not a functioning committee of the American League nor a Party organization or an organization under the influence of the Party which does not participate in the work of the American League.

3. The active Party members in the American League must understand that the job of reaching millions of people with the program of the American League, the job of building the organization, is a task of the first order for the Party.

For the second main task in the fight for peace, it is the job of the active Party members to make the American League the driving force in rallying and organizing the masses to support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. In this connection American League committees in the different localities should be encouraged to set up immediately broad committees in support of Spanish democracy in direct contact with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy at its New York headquarters, 149 Fifth Ave., in which the American League is a participant.

These committees should be of the broadest kind, including not only Left-wing organizations, trade unions and farm groups, but all peace organizations and groups which are interested in the preservation of democracy, which are ready to support the Spanish people who are in the front line trenches



in the fight to save democracy from the attacks of fascist barbarism.

These local and city committees should concentrate on medical supplies, clothing, food, and funds with which to purchase such supplies. The United States is lagging behind in the campaign to aid Spain. We must speed up our work so that real and substantial help can be given to the Spanish fighters for democracy.

Wherever these local committees are in existence or are in the process of being built, there must be representatives of the Party. They must do their best to involve other organizations in the campaign. We should make efforts to get in touch with the sincere elements in the Socialist Party. We must draw them into the local committees and prove to them by our activity, not only that we are willing to work with them, but that the struggle to help the Spanish masses is close to our hearts, and that we are doing our utmost for our Spanish brothers. At the same time, our people should be on the alert against counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and other enemies of the united and People's Front. We must seek to keep out all adventurers who are trying to control and sabotage the local committees in order to crease chaos and confusion.

Our main task is to build up the broadest united front support for the Spanish people, but, besides our work within the American League, our Party must conduct its own independent campaign. We must call demonstrations in the name of the Party to explain our position and to rally the masses around the Party as the best fighter for democracy in Spain.

This will require continuous education of the whole Party on our position on war, on our efforts to build a national peace movement, on our position on the People's Front, etc. The sections of Comrade Browder's report to the recent Central Committee plenum, dealing with peace, and the report of Comrade Hathaway on our peace work, which will be published in the *Daily Worker*, are basic documents which should be thoroughly discussed at membership meetings, functionaries meetings, unit meetings, etc.

From now on, the task of our comrades should be to involve every progressive, peace and working class organization in struggles around our slogan: Keep Hitler's Hands Off Spain. Local stations should be set up in every neighborhood to collect food, medical supplies, money, etc. These will not only be useful in themselves, but will help in preparing demonstrations

in all the large centers. Hundreds of indoor and street-corner meetings should be called and at least one demonstrative action like setting up a picket line should be held in front of every German and Italian consulate during January.

Around the struggle in support of Spanish democracy we can crystallize the great mass sentiments against fascism and war into channels which will lead to a unified national peace organization, which will really be a factor on the side of peace throughout the world.

## Gary Builds a Committee for Spanish Democracy

ETHEL STEVENS

FROM THE BEGINNING of the fascist rebellion in Spain, Gary workers grasped the fact that a victory for fascism would mean a victory for the steel trusts. They therefore readily responded to every appeal for moral and financial aid to the Madrid government.

A Spanish anti-fascist committee, composed of twenty-five Spaniards under the influence of Anarchists, was formed in the early months. Their activities were mainly limited to the Spanish colony. Although they collected food, clothes, and several thousand dollars, it was seen that this was entirely insufficient; that the committee had to be broadened to include other language groups, trade unions, church organizations, etc.

Our Party approached the Spanish Committee with the proposal that it issue a call to all liberty-loving citizens and organizations for support of Spanish democracy. The proposal was accepted but the committee lacked the most elementary knowledge of organization (a result of years of Anarchist training) and did not know how to proceed. It was therefore necessary for our Party to take the lead in making the call, securing a meeting place, and organizing the conference. The Committee of 25 was given a practical lesson in Communist work. The result was that the Party gained the respect of the Anarchists to such an extent. Today we are working very closely with them.

For the purpose of expanding the work, a committee of ten was elected. The Party representative was unanimously elected. The first big job of the committee was to arrange a mass meeting for the three representatives of the People's Front of Spain, who were touring the country. Some of the Anarchist members of the committee wanted the meeting to be held in the Spanish colony in a hall that seats 300. Our Party delegate was able to convince them that not only should the largest hall in the city be taken, but that the leading clergymen in this company town should be asked to participate, and that thousands of leaflets and posters be printed in English. The result was that three prominent clergymen responded to the call (one of them getting excellent publicity for the meeting from the local newspaper); the leader of the steel drive in this region spoke at the meeting; and \$1,014.61 was collected. Despite the fact that a Catholic priest published an appeal in the local paper calling upon all "good Christians" to stay away from the meeting, trade unions, women's auxiliaries and other organizations united in making the meeting a great success.

There were two controversies in the Committee of Ten which resulted in raising the prestige of the Party as a sincere and loyal fighter for democracy.

The first arose as a result of an interview between the chairlady of the committee and Rev. Foster (one of the three clergymen who participated in the mass meeting). When asked by him to name the members of the Committee of Ten, she mentioned all but our Party representative, fearing that he would withdraw upon learning that Communists were connected with the affair. At the meeting of the committee she therefore requested that our Party comrade do not sit on the platform at the mass meeting. The other members became indignant; they pointed out that our Party representative was the most active participant in the work of the committee and that leaving him out would mean catering to the local fascist elements.

Our comrade, however, pointed out that while the chairlady had been wrong in not naming all the members of the committee, and though the movement was now sufficiently broad to proceed even if Rev. Foster would back out, nevertheless the committee should accept the chairlady's proposal in order not to stop anyone who was willing to come to the aid of the struggling Spanish people. This move further convinced the committee that our Party does not seek any false glory; that it is a loyal fighter for working class interests.

The second controversy concerned the future activities of the committee. The Anarchists proposed that all funds, food, and clothes be sent to the C.N.T. (the Anarchist trade union in Spain). Our Party delegate pointed out that such a move would narrow our activities and would tend to exclude those Garyites who were willing to help the Spanish people in their struggle against fascism but not any particular section of them to the exclusion of others. After considerable discussion the entire committee with the exception of one Anarchist voted to communicate with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and to get details regarding affiliation.

Now the Committee of Ten (upon the suggestion of our Party delegate) is calling a conference for the purpose of actively involving church and other organizations that were not drawn in before, and to set up a large branch of the North American Committee.

Thus has our correct approach in carrying out the united front tactic in Gary helped to consolidate the anti-fascist elements and laid the basis for a broad people's movement. Above all, our Party is being established in the eyes of all participants as a sincere, clear-headed, and experienced group of champions of the anti-fascist movement.

## Party Education in the City of Brotherly Love

CARL REEVE

IN CONNECTION WITH THE REORGANIZATION of the Party apparatus and the setting up of a city committee in Philadelphia, an educational conference of all comrades engaged in district, section and branch educational work has just been held in Philadelphia.

There were 18 units represented, of which 9 were shop units.

The chief emphasis was placed upon strengthening the educational work in the branches. The section educational directors will no longer concentrate on developing section educational committees but are now to concentrate on developing the educational work in the branches of their section. Leading educational



workers in every section are each to be responsible for the educational work of their unit.

The educational conference was the forerunner for a broad Philadelphia city educational commission which will be set up when the reorganization is completed.

A thorough discussion was held on strengthening political education in the Party as a means of making the branches more effective in leading the struggles now going on in Philadelphia.

Among the most important political tasks discussed were: (1) The mobilization of the Party in support of the Spanish people's government. (2) Participation in the strike struggles now going on in Philadelphia (marine, department store, etc.). (3) Carrying out the program of the State Convention of the Workers Alliance of Pennsylvania just held in Harrisburg. (4) The campaign for labor and social legislation centering around the coming session of the State Legislature. (5) Neighborhood and shop struggles. (6) Struggle for Negro Rights. (7) Strengthening and Building the Party.

On the question of unit discussions and the training of new members, the following decisions were made:

1. Each section is to have, within the coming two or three weeks, at least one new members' class. (Section 1, South Philadelphia and Section 3, West Philadelphia, already have established such new members' classes.) Quotas were set for each section and are now being set for branches. More than 200 copies of a new members' outline were distributed to the units. The lessons run for six classes and sell at two cents each.

2. The membership committees of the district and sections are to assign all new recruits either to a new members' class or to the course on Principles of the Class Struggle in the Workers School.

3. Each branch is to assign comrades to take the class on branch work which is to be taught by Comrade I. Kastrow in the Workers School. Comrade Kastrow will also continue his course on Party organization in the Workers School in addition to this class which takes up only problems of how to work in branches and shop units. Comrades engaged in educational work are to take the class of M. Streat and Nan Pendrell in leaflet writing.

4. The question of improving unit discussions was taken up. The decisions of the educational conference on this point are:

(a) That the branches will have their political discussions as the first point on the order of business and not the last.

(b) The branch organizer and the branch bureau are to be responsible for the preparation of the discussion together with the educational director.

(c) Subjects which are to be discussed in the next few weeks include reorganization of the Party, Spain, State Convention of the Workers Alliance, lessons of the A. F. of L. Convention, strike struggles in Philadelphia, the decisions of the Central Committee plenum and the Lenin Memorial Meeting.

(d) In preparation for the unit discussion, more comrades are to be drawn into the discussion by the assignment of about eight comrades, each to answer one question in the discussion.

(e) The section and branches are to adapt these topics to the neighborhood and shop questions.

5. The conference further decided that each branch and section is to have a quota for the sale of the *Party Organizer*, *The Communist* and *The Communist International*.

The role of the *Daily Worker* editorials in developing the educational work in the branches was discussed.

A quota of 500 new registrations for the coming term of the Workers School of twelve-week courses was set by the conference.

Stronger support to the People's Forum was decided on.

The out-of-town sections are urged to follow the example of Bucks County, which has established a section class of 35 members which takes place regularly every two weeks and which has been beneficial in raising the political level of the comrades. Reading and Allentown should also establish such section classes. A class of this kind already exists in the anthracite region.

The district educational commission is regularly issuing an *Educational Bulletin* to the branches.

# Make Lenin Memorial Meetings Memorable

H. M. WICKS

ONE OF THE MOST IMPRESSIVE FEATURES of the election campaign was the distinct improvement in the organization of mass meetings. In many places the meetings were so well organized that, from beginning to end, the audiences felt that there was a smooth machine consisting of people carrying out definite tasks in a highly efficient manner. Such efficiency has a profound effect upon those attracted to our meetings. In fact, competent organization of meetings, demonstrations and other affairs is second in political importance only to content of the speeches delivered from the platform.

In the nationwide tour arranged for Comrade James W. Ford, a number of the most important meetings were splendidly organized. The meetings began on time. The programs were carefully arranged and everyone on the platform adhered to schedule. The collection squads were effectively organized. There were abundant supplies of literature. The decorations were attractive and the slogans inspiring. In Boston, Scranton, Indianapolis, Seattle, Oakland, Los Angeles, Denver, St. Louis, Durham, members of the audiences commented enthusiastically upon the efficient manner in which the meetings and demonstrations were conducted. Many who have attended our meetings for years spoke of the great improvement in their conduct.

Some of the meetings were as consistently bad as others were good. For example, in one place the decorations were repellent. The slogans were poorly painted. On one occasion huge portraits of Comrades Browder and Ford were utterly grotesque. The explanation for this was that the painter was a good comrade and did the best he could. It would have been far better to have offended an alleged portrait painter than to have inflicted such atrocities upon an audience for three hours. In preparing future meetings the responsible comrades must insist that decorations be attractive and effective and that portraits of Lenin and others look human instead of like a cross between a bull and the Piltdown man.

The greatest care must be taken to see that there are adequate supplies of appropriate literature, so displayed that all who enter

may easily view it. A comrade who can speak well should be chosen to present two or three of the most timely pamphlets, to be sold from the floor before the opening of the meeting or as the first item on the program. There should be a sufficient number of comrades to handle the floor sales so that the entire time for literature should not exceed ten minutes.

It is also essential that the meetings be presided over by competent chairmen. There is nothing that wrecks a meeting more than a chairman who talks and talks. Under no circumstances should the chairman deliver more than one speech and that should be a short introductory talk stating the purpose of the meeting. No one who is in the habit of trying to anticipate what the speakers are going to say should be permitted to act as chairman.

One of the most effective features of mass meetings is a proper arrangement of musical numbers. Music should be played while the audience is assembling. This does not necessarily mean that we must have bands. Where we use amplifiers it is possible to attach a phonograph and play martial records. Selections of such numbers should be carefully made, and should, if possible, at the Lenin Memorial meetings, include Soviet marches, the International, the Marseillaise, and popular American marches.

Chamber music should be avoided in large halls. American audiences attending mass meetings are just bored by such things. Another thing to be avoided at mass meetings is the singing of laments by quartettes, and plaintive solos by inspiring sopranos. There are many splendid numbers for quartettes and for soloists that are quite appropriate at such meetings and our comrades should not hesitate to suggest what sort of numbers are to be presented.

Certainly such preparations will produce good results. Nothing will so quickly win the respect of those who are attracted to our meetings as a well-rounded program, efficiently presented. But there is nothing that more surely disgusts audiences than a botched program. I recall hearing a very sarcastic but typically American remark in a large concentration city after a poorly executed program: "If these people can't run a meeting better than this, how the devil do they expect to run the government?"

That meeting was particularly atrocious. The display inside the hall was poor. The chairman made as many speeches as the advertised speakers. Then an attempt was made at a late hour to take up a collection after the main speaker had finished,



with the result that approximately one third of the audience walked out. Such meetings do vastly more harm than good.

Finally, in arranging the Lenin Memorial meetings there is one other practice that is exceedingly annoying and helps repel those who come to our meetings for the first time. That is the practice of having a half dozen comrades pounce upon the unsuspecting person the moment he enters the building with the objective of extracting money for various things from raffles to songbooks. This should be avoided. At the Memorial meetings there should be comrades taking care of the buttons who ask those entering if they want to purchase one or wear one for a small donation—and not any other sort of solicitation. Furthermore, the comrades should not try to force buttons or ribbons upon people, to such an extent that they become obnoxious. I have seen people deliberately leave because of those distributing buttons at the door.

In short, there is one thing we must keep in mind in arranging and conducting meetings, and that is: to impress the audience with the seriousness, and sincerity of our purpose, of our campaigns, the need for organization of the masses, the building of our Party.

## Some Good Union Organizers Poor Builders of the Party

L. J. BRAVERMAN

THE RESULTS of our election campaign activities must be discussed by our Party so that the importance of building the Party during any campaign will be fully appreciated. Our recruiting campaigns, it seems, have always been divorced from everyday Party activities. Otherwise we would not be confronted with situations where the Party has been active in various fields with no corresponding or even significant increase in membership.

In this article I want to deal with some activities in our section which illustrate how this separation of election activity from recruiting permeates all of our work. The results of our election campaign are as follows: We more than tripled our subs for the *Sunday Worker* and *Daily Worker* (139 subs) without decreas-

ing the regular bundle order. We raised close to 70 per cent of our financial quota for the election campaign—but *we recruited only 17 new workers into the Party.*

These figures tell us that there is something definitely wrong with the way we do our work. They show that we were able to get workers to contribute to our election campaign, but that we were not able to recruit more than a small number of workers. This situation becomes even more alarming when we realize that these recruits did not come from those industries and places where we were most active, but were simply chance recruits that we get during the year without any special concentration and without any specially planned activities.

For many months we have discussed recruiting. We held meetings with our comrades, but the results prove that we did not do enough to make our comrades talk and think recruiting all the time. It would be of great importance to point out how these defects express themselves in the actual work of our section.

A serious campaign is going on in our section to organize a very important and basic industry. In this campaign the Party is participating energetically. The Party, generally, and a few of those comrades who are in the mill, were able to recruit as many as 300 workers into the union. They had to do this through personal contacts and visits since there are no possibilities in that particular place for holding meetings or any activities of a public nature due to terror and spying. This means that almost all of these recruits were spoken to personally by the comrades.

Yet with the exception of gaining two recruits in this campaign, we have done nothing to build the Party in this very important industry. What do our comrades say to this? Their idea is: Let us build the union first, and then we can start building the Party. This conception has been proved false by many experiences. Today we know that to strengthen trade union work we must build the Party in the mill and in the union. Many of our trade union campaigns petered out because we had no strong Party leadership to prevent the unions from falling apart at the first signs of defeat.

The majority of our comrades are active in one organization or the other. Some of them hold office in important unions and other working class organizations. In almost all the labor campaigns it is our comrades who are the most active. But this activity results in practically no gains so far as Party recruiting is

concerned, because our comrades often forget that their task is the building of the Party.

Our Party members who work in trade union campaigns and are gaining prestige as a result of their work must learn how to point out to their fellow workers that they—the Communists—were able to work correctly and be good trade unionists only because they were Party members and were aided in forming their policies through the experiences of the Party in trade union work. This may be brought home to our fellow trade unionists either by personal contact, or openly, if a comrade is known to all the workers as a Party member. But this will be achieved by understanding the value of recruiting by personal example, by understanding that when you are looked up to as a good trade unionist by your fellow workers you must make them realize that you are also a Communist. An understanding of this will make it much easier to increase our Party membership in every campaign.

There are other examples that show why our Party failed to grow in this locality despite our mass work and the fact that a large number of workers followed our press during this campaign. Our section committee, together with a representative from the district bureau, made an analysis of our mistakes and failures in building our Party. The entire section bureau agreed that the chief reason was lack of collective Party leadership and failure to recognize the importance of Party fractions. And last, but not least, the failure to bring out the independent role of our Party.

The section committee adopted the following plan of work to be realized within three months from November 15 to February 15.

1. To put into life the slogan "Every member should recruit a new member from a basic industry".
2. To get an additional 50 subs for the *Sunday Worker*, and 25 for the *Daily Worker* and increase bundle orders in proportion to the subs.
3. To establish one central school in the section.
4. To have during the entire winter period (at least once a month) a public meeting in the two largest cities in our section.
5. To strengthen our fractions in the Central Labor Union, Workers Alliance, and some of the other mass organizations in which our people are active.
6. To build a Party unit in the fur industry.

7. To issue a steel shop paper and get out our silk shop paper more regularly.

8. To strengthen our campaign in the steel industry, and build up our unit in the mill, and set up functioning organization committees of rank-and-file workers.

9. To sell and distribute 35 copies of the *Party Organizer*, 15 of *The Communist*, and 10 of *The Communist International* and not less than 100 Party pamphlets per month.

10. To bring up our finances to its original quota.

The section committee knows that through the influence our Party gained in the election campaign we will be able to realize this plan of work and build our Party.

## New Jersey Increases Its Literature Sales

A. CROME

THE NEW JERSEY DISTRICT has increased its sales of Party periodicals—*The Communist International*, *The Communist* and the *Party Organizer*—over 200 per cent, the best record in the country, during the past year. We should like to explain how this was done so that we may aid other districts in stabilizing their literature sales.

The district has produced from four of the five sections, and from several of the units unattached to any section, *standing orders* for the theoretical journals. These standing orders are filled and sent out as soon as the periodicals come into the district. This greatly assists their sale, because it is near the beginning of the month when they are expected, and near the time when they are usually reviewed in the *Daily Worker*. It is understood that the sections and units are to make remittance as soon as they receive the literature and the bill. This means they in turn must institute a system of collecting in advance from the comrades who have placed individual standing orders for one or more of the periodicals.

This system did not spring up of itself. It necessitated frequent and continuous emphasis of the importance of spreading *The Communist* and the other Party organs, and the necessity of getting them regularly in order to establish regular Party and



non-Party customers. The comrades in most cases were ready enough to place standing orders, but the acceptance of the financial responsibility needed special stressing. The whole plan of standing orders is not practical unless the sections and units respond immediately to the financial requirements.

Increasing the circulation of the theoretical organs, even more directly than the general distribution of literature, depends upon the existence and functioning of a literature apparatus. Every section and every unattached unit in the New Jersey district now has a literature director. Correspondence carried on between the district literature director and the section and unit literature directors calls attention to the imminent appearance of each issue of the periodicals. Meetings are now beginning to be held with some of the literature directors, and these will include questions of distribution of the theoretical organs.

The district literature department did not "forget" the theoretical organs in the press of distributing election literature. At the very beginning of the election campaign, when quotas were set for platforms and other campaign material, a goal was also set for the distribution of *The Communist International*, *The Communist*, and the *Party Organizer*. This goal was doubling the then existing sales. The link was indicated between the distribution of thousands of election pamphlets to new workers, and the possibility thus created of selling many copies more of our Party periodicals.

Throughout the whole campaign the binding up of election literature with more basic literature was constantly stressed. The district literature department issues a monthly bulletin called *Jersey Speaks*. Those issued call attention to the theoretical organs. Early in the campaign the district organizational committee called a special enlarged organizational meeting devoted entirely to the question of literature distribution in the election campaign. It was at this meeting that the goal was set for the theoretical organs. All this is in direct opposition to the possibility and the tendency of completely neglecting the theoretical organs because of the "importance of the elections".

With the growth in Party membership and the improvement in the set up and advertisement of *The Communist*, *The Communist International* and the *Party Organizer*, we believe a decrease in circulation represents some kind of a contradiction. So we ask the comrades in the districts which have lost circulation to write and explain their loss, and to state their intentions for the future.

## Leadership and Personal Responsibility

"... I want to point out how the problem of building the Party is the problem of achieving two characteristic features of Lenin's teaching: the highest degree of centralization of direction and authority, together with the utmost decentralization of personal responsibility for carrying out the work. Let us examine the teachings of Lenin on this question, who said:

"The Committee must endeavor to achieve the maximum division of labor, remembering that different branches of revolutionary work demand different abilities."

"This is another way of expressing the old American saying: Find a square hole for a square peg and a round hole for a round peg. This involves the whole question of personal responsibility. It means that each committee must know the capabilities and interests of each individual member. It means that they must know the kind of person each phase of work needs. Collectively, together with the individual comrade, they must shape the policies of the work, guide and help the individual, and thus enable him to grow to greater political maturity, to establish his authority to the highest degree among the workers associated around him. We must bear in mind that only in this way is there the possibility of developing capable leadership that can serve the working class and the Party to the best of their trained abilities. That will certainly avoid the unnecessary shifting of personnel that is one of our troubles, and will contribute to the stability of Party leadership among the working class."

(From *The Results of the Elections and the People's Front*, Earl Browder's report delivered December 4, 1936, to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.)